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OUR PLAN OF FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE UKRAINEIN THE PRESENT SITUATION

1951

In 1946 the Ukrainian liberation revolutionary movement in U.S.S.R. began to turn from the form of a wide insurrectional fight to the form of a deeply underground fight. Practically, this change of tactics manifested itself primarily in the following way: 1) little by little, according to the situation and requirements in individual regions, the units of U.P.A. were disbanded, and their participants, commanders and fighters, were included in the framework of the underground organization, the underground network; 2) the whole life of the underground organization, as well as its work, were deeply masked; 3) contrary to what was in the time of the wide actions of U.P.A. (the main aim of those actions was to prevent the enemy from extension of his power beyond regional and district centres), the political-propaganda and political-organization work was put in the forefront. At present the armed underground work is the basic form of the fight of the Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement in U.S.S.R. The underground organization is acting; it meets the demands of a strict conspiracy.

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In connection with that change of the form of fight on the part of the Ukrainian liberation movement, as well as in connection with the lasting "peace" in the world, the Ukrainian community which lives legally is certainly interested in the question: What is our plan of fight in the present situation? What is the practical aim of our underground fight of today? What do we want to achieve in those hard conditions by sacrificing such a lot of our people?

In a short outline, in the present situation our plan of fight for the liberation of the Ukraine includes the following most important tasks:

1) To maintain our underground organization in the Ukrainian lands in U.S.S.R. at any price and to continue to build it up according to requi-

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rements and opportunities;

2) To carry on an enlightening propaganda-political work among the whole Ukrainian people and other peoples of the entire U.S.S.R. through the underground organization as well as in every possible way;

3) To organize the resistance of the Ukrainian and, if possible, other peoples of U.S.S.R. against the Bolshevik oppressors and exploiters in all the spheres of life;

4) To carry on armed actions which are absolutely necessary for preventing the occupants from consolidation of their hold on our lands, as they would like to do it, and hindering the Russian-Bolshevik criminals and all their menials from committing their crimes with regard to the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian liberation movement without being punished for it.

In short, such is the present plan of our liberation fight.

The liberation of the Ukraine, the liberation of the Ukrainian people in the next historical period, depends on how much we succeed in the fulfilment of this plan.

One may ask: Why just so?---Because:

The whole until now history teaches us that an enslaved people may make itself free provided it will establish a proper liberation organization made up of its best sons. Such an organization is absolutely necessary, first of all, for the preparation of a nation-wide insurrection or any other decisive liberation action. It is a well known fact that the occupation rule in an enslaved country may be overthrown in this way only, that is by means of a nation-wide insurrection. Moreover, such an organization is indispensable because there must be somebody who would call the people to such an insurrection (or any other liberation action) at an opportune moment, lead the people to such an insurrection, organize such an insurrection, direct it, go in its front-line, be its support and spearhead force. If at an opportune moment the people has no organization which would be able to carry on such a fight, it will

not make itself free even under most favourable conditions.

The people must have such an organization on its own territory, and not in the emigration. The emigration may return to its native country only behind the armies of other powers, at the best--as an insignificant component part of those armies, even if it should appear there under its own banner. That is to say, at such a decisive moment as a war against the occupant of its native country, the influence of the emigration with the fate of its own people, especially if the belligerent powers are perfectly indifferent to that enslaved people--is insignificant, almost none. The emigration cannot exert any influence upon the fate of its own people, if the attitude of the belligerent powers, enemies of the occupant, towards the enslaved people is hostile. The liberation of an enslaved people almost always depends only on what the people is able to achieve on its own territory, in its native country, and not in the emigration.

In the light of what was said above, it is clear that the existence of the present underground organization in the Ukraine, the existence of our present organized revolutionary underground work, is of particular importance to the Ukrainian people.

Some of the Ukrainians speculate: "Everything depends on the war against U.S.S.R. ~~By~~ Our people alone (i.e. the underground organization) are not able to achieve anything".

It is true that today our liberation-revolutionary movement in the Ukraine is still too weak to think, under existing conditions, of the overthrow of the Bolshevik rule in our native country by means of our own forces only. It is also true that a war against U.S.S.R., and especially the war which is being prepared, would considerably facilitate our liberation fight. We do not deny it. However, it is a gross error to think that a war alone would be enough to liberate the Ukraine. Without the existence of an experienced and properly built-up liberation organization in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian people will not make itself free in

case of war. On the basis of what we said above about the role and importance of a liberation organization in the life of an enslaved people, ~~it~~^{this} should be quite intelligible to everyone. The information on the present attitude of our emigration abroad does confirm our conclusion. For the most part, our emigration today^a is perfectly indifferent to our liberation fight. Having been a stateless people for such a long time, today it is hard for us to gain positions in the international life.

Our underground O.U.N. in U.S.S.R., our revolutionary underground organization on the whole, is such an experienced and pretty built-up organization in the Ukraine today, an organization which is able to excite the people to a decisive liberation action at an opportune moment, to organize such an action and to direct it. The fact that we have such an organization in the Ukraine today is our great advantage, the great achievement of an enslaved people. This is the surest guarantee of our liberation at the first opportunity.

Therefore, naturally, we consider the maintaining and building-up that organization the most important task of our plan of the liberation fight in the present situation. We have tried and shall try in the future to fulfil that task at any price, even at the price of great sacrifices. We know: a voluntary giving up our plan, or a destruction of our underground organization by the enemy, would be identical to crossing out our hopes for the liberation of the Ukrainian people in the near future.

But, in order to be able to gain its end at an opportune moment, i.e. to gain a complete national-state liberation of the Ukraine, our liberation organization must secure, especially at the decisive moment of the fight, the support on the part of the broad Ukrainian masses, the whole Ukrainian people. Our liberation organization will acquire such a support, if, on the one hand, our program meets the requirements and desires of the broad Ukrainian masses and, on the other hand, if the Ukrainian masses are well and thoroughly acquainted with our program and our end.

As to the former requirement, the situation of our movement in that re-

spect is not bad. Our program really reflects the desires and requirements of all the strata of the Ukrainian people, its broad masses. This may be confirmed by the numerous statements concerning our program, which we note every day, and which are made by people belonging to all the strata and various professions from every corner of the Ukraine. And this is quite regular: our liberation-revolutionary movement, our O.U.N. in the Ukraine, has always lent an ear to the desires of the Ukrainian people; it has always been very attentive to its requirements.

The latter requirement: the broad masses of the Ukrainian people must be acquainted with our end. It should be stated that our situation in this respect is still quite unsatisfactory. Of course, this concerns primarily the eastern regions of the Ukraine. An overwhelming majority of Eastern Ukrainians still has a very little knowledge of our real ends, the real character of our underground organization and our whole liberation movement, or, simply, still believes the Bolsheviki lie concerning us. At the same time a considerable number of Eastern Ukrainians, primarily intellectual people, is, on the whole, under the influence of Bolsheviki ideology.

This bad situation can be changed only by means of a wide and persistent enlightening propaganda-political work; by means of a courageous and wide circulation of our underground publications--leaflets, pamphlets, periodicals, appeals and so on, and by means of a proper oral enlightening work. This work must be carried on not only by the underground organization, but all the patriots, all the nationally conscious Ukrainians who live legally.

In view of the importance of this matter to our liberation fight, the propaganda-political work among Eastern Ukrainians and Soviet people in general is considered the second task of our present liberation plan.

The force of the action of the Ukrainian people at the next opportune moment depends on the fulfilment of this task. Everybody knows that the victory in our liberation fight, our liberation, depends on the force of that action. ~~For the success of the liberation of the Ukraine, also~~

Our plan of fight for the liberation of the Ukraine also includes the organization of the resistance of the Ukrainian people to the Bolshevik oppressors and exploiters in all the spheres of life. Such a resistance is indispensable; it will prevent the Bolsheviks from an easy and successful carrying out their plans in the Ukraine: political plans (building-up the party, komsomol and so on), economic plans (collectivization, recruitment to F.Z.N., state supplying a.s.o.), Russification, propagan-da and other plans; it is absolutely necessary for weakening and undermining the Bolshevik rule in the Ukraine. It is clear that such a courageous nation-wide, general resistance, a resistance in all the spheres of life, would be a serious blow to the Russian-Bolshevik occupants.

It is quite natural that the underground organization alone cannot fulfil that task. That task may be fulfilled only with the participation of the vast masses of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian people must offer such a resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik invaders. The front of the fight for the liberation of the Ukraine, the front of the fight ~~against~~ against the Bolshevik enslavers, cannot be limited to the fight of the underground organization. It is absolutely not sufficient. The whole people must take part in that fight. Only in such a case the liberation of the Ukraine will be guaranteed. In spite of the terrorist character of the Bolshevik regime, there are still possibilities of such a resistance on the part of the legal part of the people. One must see them and make use of them courageously and as soon as possible. First of all, it is necessary to offer a firm resistance to Russia's policy of Russification of the Ukrainian people. This policy threatens to exterminate us as a separate people.

Such a fight, such a nation-wide courageous resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik occupants, will not only undermine seriously the force of the Bolshevik rule in the Ukraine. It will also prepare the people for the decisive and courageous action which will be carried out ~~at~~ at an opportune moment. It will, first of all, cultivate such virtues of the people as courage which will enable it to offer resistance to the enemy and to ~~at~~

attack him, such virtues as readiness to make sacrifices, national solidarity, active patriotism, fighting spirit and so on. History teaches us that without such a preparation an enslaved people cannot gain a victory over its enemy, the occupant.

The fighting armed actions which are being carried on by our revolutionary underground organization at the present time on its own initiative (we are compelled by the enemy armed terrorism to carry on most of those actions; we must defend ourselves and our organized liberation movement) pursue a special, exactly defined, object in our plan of fight at the present time. They have for an object, first of all, to punish our most active enemies, the occupants, and their fellow travelers for their crimes as regards the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian liberation movement, for terrorizing and cruel treatment of the Ukrainian people, for plunder, for persecution of Ukrainian patriots, for their active, armed or propaganda, actions against the Ukrainian liberation movement and so on. Terrorizing the Bolshevik menials and their fellow travelers, and preventing them from faithfully serving the Bolshevik oppressors, we defend the Ukrainian population from their highhandedness and arbitrary rule to a considerable extent. Many heads of village Soviets, heads of collective farms and other Bolshevik officials, ~~xxx~~ still conduct themselves decently, only because they are afraid of the just punishment by the underground organization. In this way we also prevent, to a considerable extent, the Bolsheviks from the realization of their plans aimed at a complete subjugation of the Ukrainian masses on the territory of our intensive actions. Moreover, in this way we also educate the Ukrainian masses in the spirit of revolutionary fight. Every successful assault, every successful sudden attack against the enemy, any of his strongholds, raise the revolutionary spirit of the masses, encourage the Ukrainian people, strengthen its resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik invaders and make it more active on the front of that resistance. All that is of particular importance in the plan of development of a liberation revolutionary fight. That is just the only way to victory in a liberation

fight.

On the whole, however, it should be stated that the number of our fighting-armed actions is smaller now than, for example, in the years 1944-46, in the time of the wide actions of U.P.A. and the mass armed underground activity. Obviously, this results from our present plan of fight. As it was said above, today we consider the maintenance and further building-up our underground organization and propaganda-political work our most important task. Today the fighting-armed actions are in the background of our plan of fight.

In spite of all the difficulties with which the liberation fight meets in the conditions of the totalitarian and terrorist U.S.S.R., in spite of our great casualties which we are constantly compelled to suffer, we are successfully carrying out our plan of fight.

We have succeeded in maintaining our underground organization; in some cases we have even built it up. By means of our underground network we almost completely rule over about one third of the territory of the Ukraine.

We have won a great success in our propaganda-political work. More and more Ukrainians from the eastern regions of the Ukraine, as well as Soviet people from the whole U.S.S.R., are being informed about our real ends and the real national and social-liberation character of our movement. Our literature reaches every corner of the Ukraine, and several republics of the Soviet Union. In the year 1948 about 70 different pamphlets, leaflets, periodicals and works of art were printed in our underground printing establishments in numbers amounting to several thousands. Almost all that literature is designed for the Soviet masses and, first of all, the East-Ukrainian masses. We constantly hear Ukrainians from the eastern regions of the Ukraine, and people from the entire U.S.S.R., approve, and even be enthusiastic about, our fight. We often receive letters from Ukrainian patriots from all the regions of the Ukraine, in which they declare their complete solidarity with us and express their readiness to fight actively. We are also devotedly supported in our practical

revolutionary work all over the Ukraine.

The underground organization has also won a considerable success in the organization of the resistance of the Ukrainian masses to the Russian-Bolshevik invaders. Let us mention the boycott of all the until now Bolshevik elections, and particularly the elections of the year 1946, by the Ukrainian people on the territory of the actions of U.P.A. and the underground organization, the resistance ~~at~~ to collectivization, the resistance of Ukrainian youth to komsomol, parachute jumps, recruitment to F.Z.N. and so on. It is even difficult to enumerate all that. Since 1944 there has been a persistent furious fighting between the Bolshevik oppressors and the Ukrainian masses on the territory of the actions of U.P.A. and the underground organization. This situation has been caused, to a considerable extent, by the fight and work of U.P.A. and the underground organization.

Our fighting-armed actions are successful, too. A considerable number of Bolshevik bandits and their menials are ambushed and killed by members of the underground organization. By its fighting actions the underground organization has considerably supported the West-Ukrainian peasants in their fight against the collectivization. In consequence of the armed actions of U.P.A. and the underground organization, the Bolsheviks are, for the most part, unable to organize the parachute jumps, not to mention the revolutionary influence of those actions over the Ukrainian masses, and particularly Ukrainian youth; this influence is quite evident.

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What does the complete realization of our plan of fight for the liberation of the Ukraine depend on? That is to say: What does the successful completion of that fight depend on?

Obviously, it depends on many conditions. One of the most important conditions is the question to what extent the Ukrainian community which lives legally supports the revolutionary underground organization in its fight for the realization of that plan.

What support does the revolutionary underground organization need today?

Let us say in plain words: this support should not be limited to mere sympathy, mere ideological solidarity with the underground organization. The fight does not depend on mere sympathy; it cannot be strengthened by mere sympathy. Mere ideological unity of the people and the underground organization is not sufficient to gaining a victory in our liberation fight. It must be a real, concrete and active support.

The members of the secret organization must live somewhere; they must have their quarters. The fight demands that such underground quarters be established in inhabited localities, in buildings; in many regions the natural conditions compel us to do so.

It is the duty of every conscious Ukrainian, every Ukrainian patriot, to give us, if necessary, an opportunity to establish such quarters at his place. Obviously, it is connected with a certain risk, but there is no fight without risk. While some patriots risk their life every day--obviously, they do not risk it because, allegedly, "it is all the same to them", but because it is demanded by the supreme interests of our liberation cause--other patriots should be willing, at least during a certain time, to stake, at the worst, their property or personal freedom. There is no victory without sacrifices. That victory will be gained, if not only individual persons, but the broad masses of the people are ready to make sacrifices. Besides, in view of the fact that the members of the secret organization are skilfully masked today, it is difficult to discover such quarters.

The underground organization needs a material help in the form of money, food; sometimes in the form of clothing, footwear, drugs, and so on.

Particularly, the underground organization needs money. Money is necessary, first of all, to the organization of printing establishments and their equipment, the purchase of paper, typewriters, stationery in general, the purchase of necessary books, drugs, clothing, footwear and a series of other things which cannot be mentioned here for obvious reasons. Without money the underground organization would be unable to carry on its propaganda-political work, and very often it would be unable to keep its

ground at all. All the money matters of the underground organization are strictly controlled by its supreme organs.

The underground organization needs a help on the part of the whole community in the form of various informations from different circles, institutions, mills and factories, from various regions of U.S.S.R., on all the spheres of Soviet life. Because of the special forms of its fight (the underground mode of life, deep conspiracy) the underground organization alone is unable to get all the information it needs. Such informations are indispensable to a political organization; they enable it to carry on its work successfully.

The underground organization also needs reinforcement. It is a well-known fact that tens of thousands of insurrectionists and members of the secret organization died the death of a hero during the recent years of the fight. *Our* people are dying today, too. This is inevitable in a fight. Here and there the underground organization must reinforce its ranks. This is absolutely necessary to the existence of the underground organization as a compact and proportionally wide organization. All the Ukrainian patriots must be aware of that. One must have courage for joining in the hard, but famous, underground fight in case of necessity; one should have no hesitation in sending one's son or daughter to the underground organization.

Particularly, here we appeal to the Ukrainian secondary-school boys and students. Our underground O.U.N. is a political organization. It carries on a various political-revolutionary work. It would be a great mistake to think that educated people have nothing to do with the underground organization. Our underground organization, our liberation underground movement, needs as many as possible educated people. In our organization such people have a great opportunity to grow and to develop their individualities. In our organization hundreds of talented young ~~men~~ men have grown up and become first-class political revolutionary leaders with a great stock of political and general knowledge, with a great and thorough experience in the practical political revolutionary work. Today there is

no more honorary work for a young Ukrainian patriot than the active revolutionary fight for the liberation of the Ukraine in the ranks of the underground organization. Today the best way to serve the Ukraine is to serve it in the ranks of the Underground organization according to one's knowledge, courage, ardour and persistence. Therefore, do not hesitate for a moment, if you are called for that service.

A work aimed at giving information to all the uninformed people on the character of our movement, our real ends, should also be one of the forms of supporting the underground organization. It is not true that there are no possibilities for such a work under Soviet conditions. We know by experience that there are possibilities for such a work. Of course, one should do this very cautiously. One should observe the people beforehand and get acquainted with them; this should not be done ~~anywhere~~ ^{anywhere} ~~at all~~, but in a proper situation. Besides, there is still another condition: one should not fear too much; one should not think that every Soviet man must be an agent of M.G.B. There is a lot of such agents; there is no doubt about that. But, for sure, not all the Soviet people are agents. Many Soviet people may be hostile towards our movement just because of ignorance. In fact, however, they may be honest people, perhaps even secret opponents of the Bolshevik regime. It is a great loss to us, to our liberation movement, if a Ukrainian patriot meets with such a man, works together with him, is on friendly terms with him--and dares not say a few words of truth about us. This narrows the framework of our propaganda-political work very much; thus, it narrows our success, too. Therefore, it is the duty of every Ukrainian patriot to spread the truth about us, the Ukrainian liberation movement, in every possible form. Especially the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Ukrainian students can do much in this respect. It is known that it is hard for our underground organization to get in the towns, especially the cities, today. It is the towns where there are most of those people among whom we should, first of all, carry on our enlightening work: Ukrainians from the eastern regions of the Ukraine and Soviet people in general. One should know how to put steal-

thily our underground literature at their doors (or to deliver it in another way), to send secretly proper explanatory letters (obviously, anonymous ones and written in a changed handwriting), to slip into their lodgings various enlightening patriotic books published in the Western Ukraine before the year 1939, and so on. As to our underground publications, they often do not meet the need in that respect; it is often difficult to get more than one copy of each of them. In such cases such publications, especially leaflets, should be copied by hand and circulated in such a form.

We shall win the necessary success in our propaganda-political work only with the help of all the nationally conscious Ukrainians who live legally. Every nationally conscious and politically literate educated Ukrainian, every Ukrainian worker and peasant should carry on such an enlightening work in every possible form.

Finally, to support the underground organization not only by sympathy, not only by word of mouth, means to be always ready to carry out all the orders and suggestions of the underground organization and to support it actively in all the difficulties which may arise.

If, on the one hand, the Ukrainian patriots--peasants, workers and intelligentsia who live legally-actively support the underground organization, and if, on the other hand, all the Ukrainian patriots offer a courageous resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik invaders, we shall gain a victory in our liberation fight.

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